DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 036 828 CG 004 991

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TITLE Symposium on Youth: Their Values, Goals, and Career Concepts. Third Monograph.
INSTITUTION State Univ. of New York, Albany. Two Year Coll. Student Development Center.
PUB DATE 27 Jun 69
NOTE 100p.; Papers presented at Symposium on Youth, Rensselaerville, New York, June 22-27, 1969

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$5.10
DESCRIPTORS Affective Behavior, Behavior, Behavior Change, *Careers, Community, Culture, Culture Conflict, Education, Friendship, Interpersonal Relationship, Marriage, Mental Health, Moral Issues, Motivation, *Objectives, Occupations, Peer Acceptance, Perception, Personality Theories, Problem Solving, Recreation, Self Concept, Social Adjustment, Socialization, Student Personnel Services, *Values, *Youth

ABSTRACT

This monograph contains papers presented at a symposium on the values, goals and career concepts of youth. The first article discusses cognitive personality theory which maintains that all behavior is a judgmental process carried out upon stimuli which impinge upon the organism. Major issues in general behavior theory are presented followed by a discussion of how these issues might be regarded within a cognitive theory approach. The second paper brings to bear some of the recent conceptions and findings from the area of person perception to the understanding of perception of self with attention focused on ways in which such ideas can be relevant to the work of college counselors. The next paper deals with the application of some social learning concepts to an analysis of some salient problems in our society. It is concerned with the following four areas in which our society has built into it serious culture conflicts: education, occupation, and recreation; love and marriage; friendship and social acceptance; and morality. The last article presents an overview of student personnel services in Georgia's Area Vocational Technical Schools. (RSM)

ED036828

SYMPOSIUM ON YOUTH:

THEIR VALUES, GOALS AND CAREER CONCEPTS

THIRD MONOGRAPH

sponsored by

Two-Year College Student Development Center
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT ALBANY

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June 22 - 27, 1969

Rensselaerville, New York

Third Monograph

Two-Year College Student Development Center
State University of New York at Albany

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PREFACE

> "Although we wanted to have it retain an application flavor, we did want to give it a consistent theoretical base. We find it axiomatic that there is nothing so practical as good theory."

Dr. James Mancuso, the Symposium Coordinator, has so ably stated one of our concerns from the Spring Workshops.

The papers contained in this monograph represent what we believe to be a start toward a series of activities which we must engage in as we prepare for the future. The knowledge explosion has not by-passed the counseling area. Therefore, we must continuously reassess current knowledge and thought as we determine new direction and focus.

We cannot recapture the kinds of dialogue, and confrontations with ideas--both settling and unsettling--which took place at the Symposium. But, we submit to you some material which we hope you might use with your colleagues for your own symposium.

Your critical thought and analysis will assure learning and development of the future.

Arthur A. Hitchcock
Director

THE PURPOSE OF PERSONALITY THEORY

by

James C. Mancuso

State University of New York at Albany

As we set out to arrange this conference we decided that although we wanted to have it retain an applications flavor, we did want to give it a consistent theoretical base. It is axiomatic that there is nothing so practical as good theory. We do not want a review of many theories, but a focus on a single theory that has strong ties to research that at the same time has practical utility. This can be found in what is now coming to be spoken of as cognitive theory.

Let me quickly characterize cognitive theory - all behavior is a judgmental process carried out upon stimuli which impinge upon the organism. No matter what the nature of the stimulus, external or internal, verbal spatial, or whatever, the behaving organism represents a judgment carried out on that stimulus. When we speak of the organism's behavior, we have in mind the internal judgmental processes as well as overt behavior. The organism's behavior represents a judgment carried out on that.

The judgment is made in terms of the organism's personal frames of references. Each organism carries within itself a series of scales of judgment upon which incoming stimuli are arranged. Particular stimuli, for each person, over the course of experience, are arranged along characteristic dimensions - naturally developed schema or constructions. These dimensions, constructs, etc., are developed. Also each identifiable stimuli gain a construction - an identifiable schema.

This approach allows us to bring in the tremendous array of literature on perceptive, cognitive, etc., that has been developed. We won't go into all that, though a case can be made, I assure you. Kelly is one of the recommended readings - though he does not go into the experimental support for his fundamental postulate and his corollaries. The studies are available. We have assembled these studies and are having them published by Holt, Rinehart, Winston-so we are sure that the psychology of perceptive judgment and cognition has produced sufficient empirical support for Kelly's axioms. We will not go into the detail of this. Instead, let us go directly to some of the kinds of questions that should be addressed to a personality theory and see how a cognitive theory of personality would handle those questions. As we do this we might contrast it to other theoretical positions.

One can certainly predict disagreement about what questions _must_ be answered by a general behavior theory. In fact, the very nature of a theorist's position often leads him to ask a particular kind of question. At this stage in the history of the development of personality theory, however, there appear to be a series of questions which compel answers from any theorist who ventures into an effort to state his views. We would propose that if one were to respond to the following questions in stating a theory, that a complete general behavior theory would be postulated.

(1) _What constructs shall we use to describe general behavior?_ There has been no shortage of constructs by which a person shall be described. Theorists have tried conceptual categories ranging from names of stellar constellations to the names of areas of ink blot figures. Within this range, the behavior of people has been described in terms of their vital juices, their body build, and the contents of the mysterious realm of their unconscious. How do we decide which constructs we shall use? This appears to be the question which has engaged the philosopher of science within psychology. It turns out to be the ancient question about the nature of the real world. It is thus very much like our second question.

(2) _What is the nature of reality?_ This is a crucial question for the personality theorist not only because of his concern about what he is willing

to regard as reality within his theorizing, but also because he must have something to say about what the subject of his study - the total, continuing organism-does with reality. As we speak of the behaving person we try to assess the relationships between his behavior and the physical-chemical world that impinges upon his sensory system. Does he extract the regularities out of this physical-chemical world so that he might, in the future, counter-react? Does the physical-chemical world have a set of regularities? How do we decide which of the events we might consider to be recurrent regularities?

We again point out that this question is not a new one. It is as old as man's first thoughts about his thoughts. We point out, however, that it is frequently treated with glib abandon. There are personality theorists who are perfectly willing to become arbiters of reality. Others simply make the assumption on the nature of reality with which we all can agree, or at least the "better adjusted" of us can agree. It is our contention that a personality theorist must spell out the assumptions that he is making about the nature of reality and his subjects' relationship to it.

(3) What instigates and alters behavior? The very essence of an organism is its dynamism. Thus, we can not place a static system into the organism. What keeps the organism in a dynamic state and what alters the direction of its activity? General psychology deals with this issue under the topic of motivation.

(4) What is the nature of emotion; emphasizing the nature of anxiety, in particular? It would be our pleasure to agree to delete this question, but we feel that thousands of years of tradition has given it a place that cannot be ignored. In our society the concept of emotions is given verification by scholars and poets alike. The personality theorist must give attention to this issue, if for no other reason than to prepare himself to answer those who insist that emotion is a meaningful variable. We must also recognize that there are theorists who do see emotion as a useful variable. They, then, also have an obligation to state explicity how they are using this variable.

(5) How do we account for solving problems that never came into our field of "awareness"? We might have asked the question, "What is awareness"? This, however, would take us into the ancient issue of the nature of consciousness; which, in turn, would raise the entire question of nature of behavior. This, after all, is what psychology is all about and one's total theory is meant to be the response to this question. Our question is concerned with avoiding the possibility that we will seek to explain the behavior of an organism by reverting to a concept; namely, the unconscious, that was devised to explain how we solved problems that were not in our field of awareness. Perhaps we should ask the question, "What is the nature of unconscious functions?" To do so, however, would be to imply that the concept of unconscious has a valid place in personality theory, and there might well be a theorist who will reject the use of the concept. He, nevertheless, will be obligated to indicate how a person can engage in a behavior while being "unaware" of doing so. At the same time, the theorist who will take recourse to explaining behavior on the basis of the functioning of an "unconscious mind",needs to make explicit his assumptions about the nature of his "subsidiary mind".

(6) What is the role of the structure of the organism in determining the nature of its behavior? Historically the psychologist has readily yielded to the temptation to explain behavior by attributing it to the structure of the organism. The connection has frequently been quite direct, as in the instinct concept. The organism behaved as it did simply because its structure led to a particular behavior when a partiular physical-chemical event was presented to the sensorium of the organism. If the behavior did not appear at birth, then we were left to explain its appearance at a later date. This was relatively easy, for we could readily observe physical growth in the organism. Was it not, then, a matter of the behavior emerging only after the physical organism had

matured to the point where the physical mechanisms were available to route the incoming stimulus patterns into the appropriate behaviors?

A statement of this simplicity would no longer be satisfying to a personality theorist. At the same time, the biological correlates of behavior cannot be ignored. They present a meaningful set of variables, and the nature of their relationships to behavior needs to be specified. At best, no aspect of a personality theory should be at odds with what is known of about physical function. At the same time, it is not a wise policy to flee into unknown neurophysiological functions in order to explain behavioral events.

(7) *What is the relationship of culture to behavior?* In this age we are spared the need to question whether culture has an effect on behavior. We may take an affirmative reply as a given, and then proceed to ask about the nature of the relationship between culture and behavior. We can ask about the models that culture provides for a behaving organism. We can ask about the inducements that the culture can offer for a person to engage in the behaviors that the organism adopts.

(8) *What, specifically, determines the nature of behavioral change?* What takes place to produce a relatively stable change in the behavior of the organism? In some of the previous questions there have already been allusions to this question. We have asked, for example, what instigates and alters behavior. We also have alluded to the need to explain the theory's position on biology as a source of behavioral change. It is tempting, here, to go into a discussion of *learning* and all the related concepts that are evoked by this term. As in other cases, however, we wish to refrain from implying, at this point, that the concept of learning is other than a concept which has been developed in order to place behavioral change into a meaningful frame of reference. We wish only to indicate that the behavioral theorist cannot ignore the need to make a statement on this crucial matter.

(9) What is the relationship of "thought" to action? Is thought behavior? Or, must we see behavior only as the external motor action of the individual? This is also one of psychology's ancient issues. In order to avoid the pitfalls of taking recourse to a person's hidden "thought processes" as a way of explaining his behavior, the strict behaviorists have maintained that the behavior theorist needed to refrain from regarding an organism's "inner functioning". All that the psychologist studies should be overtly observable and recordable. If we are to develop principles about overt behavior, can they be principles which apply to the internal behavior known as "thought"? Can "thought processes" be explicated in terms of overt behavioral anchors? Is there any value in continuing to make a dichotomy between overt behavior and "thought processes"; or is this division the remnant of an outmoded practice?

(10) What is the relationship of "intellect" to personality functioning? As with our fourth question, we would be happy to delete this question. Again we bow to the ancient tradition which gave us the great triumverate of behavior: knowing, feeling, and willing. Personality theorists have spent a great deal of time speaking of how emotional behavior interferes with rational behavior: or of differences between "creativity" and "intelligence". How shall we treat such efforts to specify the relationships that exist among these variables?

A cognitive theory approach to major questions.

1. Within a cognitive system, what are regarded as the constructs that should be used to explain behavior? Behavior should be explained in terms of the individual's constructs. It is the organism's constructs which guide its behavior. Thus, the state of his construct system is what needs to be clarified. Motivational principles, developmental principles, principles relating to the continuity of behavior, principles describing the effects of the culture on behavior, etc., are defined in terms of how they involve the individual's construct system. In this sense, the theory to be elaborated is a

phenomenological theory. It states that the prime phenomena are those which relate to one's perceptions of the world. The Construction Corollary and the Individuality Corollary explicate the centrality of constructs within this theory, and make the point that individual differences are regarded as springing from differences among the constructions that individuals impose upon the universe.

2. The position on the nature of reality which we can take from this theory would evolve from the theory's position on what constitute the core constructs under study. The individuals' constructs are what need to be studied in order to understand behavior. Something that goes under the name of reality is unknowable, since one's constructs constantly intercede between "nature" and the organism. It is not now possible to separate one's construction of an event from the event itself, so that an effort to discuss the parallelism between a real event and one's response to it is a useless effort. Furthermore, no one is in a position to maintain that he has a closer touch with reality than does any other person, even if he takes thirty dollars an hour to do it for us! We cannot, therefore, set up studies which make the assumption that the stimuli operate separately, or really, apart from an individual's construct system. Rather than continue to be entangled in a question that is incapable of resolution, let us concentrate upon studying the nature of constructs. If, by some chance, the constructs which we develop happen to be reflections of what is really out there, it will make little difference in one's functioning. What counts is the person's ability to anticipate events. If one wished to start saying that those constructs which persistently allow for anticipation reflect reality, he might cautiously do so. He then courts certain dangers. First, he gives those constructions all the cumbersome loading that attaches to the old arguments about the nature of reality. Secondly, he can find himself in trouble when the construct

becomes superseded by a more valuable construct. He will be in a position where he will be asked to discard "reality", which has always been a very difficult task for an organism to undertake. We advocate staying with the notion of constructs rather than becoming involved with reality.

3. We placed the question of motivation as the third of our questions. It is, to me, the most important question of substance with which we deal when we speak of general behavior. What we propose as a central motivation principle is really quite simple. As a matter of fact we find that we must fight more to have students accept it because of its basic simplicity than we must fight over its complications. Psychologists have always tried to make themselves look very important by obfuscating the whole business of motivation. This is where they are supposed to be really worth something when they can reveal people's motivation. We have convinced people that motivation is complex and "deep" - that organisms are guided by all kinds of deeply hidden, disguised motivations. We state that this is simply not so. Organisms are motivated by one thing - the prime source of motivation is seen in the organism's effort to develop and to maintain its ability to construe the world. To satisfactorily know is to be satiated. This can be fancied up - we can draw curves and we can introduce physiological variables, but it still remains a basic, simple model. The other side of it is that "not-knowing" is arousing. Or, novel stimuli (stimuli that cannot be readily integrated into an individual's perceptual system) produce arrousal. Reinforcement is produced by cognitively integrating (or avoiding; essentially another form of integrating) a novel stimulus, and thereby reducing arousal. With this formulation we can even speak of the organism having first developed, physically, in an interuterine environment wherein it developed certain "built-in" schemas, such as those having to do with the tactile stimulation it receives, the thermal stimuli it receives, the kinesthetic stimuli it receives, etc. When it arrives in its

new environment, it is bombarded with stimuli which are novel to its existing construction--i.e., stimuli which it cannot integrate. This novelty is accompanied by arousal or, to use a more common term, anxiety. The organism seeks to avoid recurrences of arousal that deviate from optimism (another term we will discuss later). The most effective way to avoid non-optimism stimuli is to develop constructions which assimilate the stimuli and make possible their anticipation. Means other than actually developing constructions that can assimilate the stimuli might also be used to evade arousal. One ordinarily finds such means discussed under the heading of "abnormal" psychology. When we hear Dr. Rotter we should pay close attention as to how he speaks of an individual coming to construe himself and what happens when this is not met. Dr. Rotter doesn't use this language, but we will see clear parallels in what he says about mental health and what we have to say.

With this formulation -- that the organism seeks to avoid the possibility of reexperiencing arousal through developing constructs that will allow him to anticipate events -- one can turn to the burgeoning literature in arousal theory (Berlyne, ; Fiske and Maddi, ; Duffy, ; Dember, ; Fowler, ; Lindsley,). Here he will find an array of research and theory that gives ample support to a basic motivational theory that speaks of the organism's effort to maintain itself in a situation where its "expectancies" -- its confirmed constructs -- are optimally met.

4. If one reviews this literature, he will find that the terms of motivation and emotion emerge into one concept. What then is the nature of emotion? Some writers prefer to use the term activation, and this appears to be the term that gets wider acceptance. The position is that we need no longer speak of a variety of emotions. All emotion can be regarded as variation along a single curve. The greater the novelty of a situation, and the longer the novelty is imposed, the greater the level of arousal experienced by the

organism. In other terms, the greater the inability to anticipate, the greater the level of emotion. But the organism doesn't strive for complete ability to anticipate, it strives to maintain itself at an optimum level of arousal. It does seek out optimally novel situations which will give it the opportunity to "exercise" its construing functions. To be "bored" and to then engage in an experience that raises the level of arousal is to bring about the one kind of "pleasure". At the other end, to be overaroused by novel stimuli; and to find a means of reducing that arousing stimulation, either by construing or by escaping (which is a way of construing), is another way of producing pleasure. In summary, the entire motivational structure of this kind of objective theory, which subsumes the issue of emotion, is discussed in terms of the organism's efforts to maintain itself at an optimal level of arousal; which is intimately related to its ability to construe the stimulus events of the world. Professor Kelly is very explicit in his effort to state that the designation of his theory as a "cognitive" theory does not imply that the theory rejects the place of affect (Kelly, 1955, p. 130, and intra, p. 18). The ancient dichotomy of behavioral function into the faculties of willing, emoting, and cognizing is abandoned; and the inter-involvement of affect and cognition is affirmed.

5. If a personal construct theorist were asked to account for solving problems that never come into the field of "awareness". This would be a most effective device for holding his questioner to the defensive. There are many connotations for the term awareness. One would need to know which of these connotations is implied in the questioning. Rather than engage in an effort to get at definitions or to evade the issue, let us go directly to the matter of how "unconscious" fits into construct theory. A construct, the template which the organism places over incoming stimuli, is defined in terms of whatever

psycho-physiological reaction that the organism has to the stimulus event. The reaction need not have verbal-auditory, or visual, or vocal elements.

Throughout our lives we are going about the process of fitting stimuli into our construct systems. Some of these constructions are thoroughly rut-worn, and require an absolute minimum of verbal, -visual, -auditory, associative loading. So long as the incoming stimuli satisfactorily "fit" the existing structures and do not create enough novelty to arouse us to the point of "attention" we carry out the construing function at an "unconscious" level. We become "conscious" of a stimulus input, and the process of construing it only when we are activated to the point where verbal-visual-auditory associations begin to arise in order to aid in the integration of the novel stimulus input.

6. What about the place of Biology in behavior development? A vast part of the world that the organism must come to construe is that part which becomes identified as his own body. Its anatomy and function constantly provide it with stimuli that must be fit into the context of its existing construction system. Furthermore, the environment impinges upon that physical body in ways that "force" certain constructions. For example, the nature of gravity in relation to the shape of a human body makes it most convenient to construe one's body as a "thing to be held upright" while being balanced on the small surfaces that constitute the bottom of one's feet. To construe the body in this way gives one a huge advantage in avoiding the inability to anticipate events. To stand, to give completely free range of movement to the arms, and to raise the eyes to a higher level,give the organism a great latitude to develop cognitive organizations which are not available to the organism that cannot orient its body to space as does the hominoid. The social world also reacts to the body. A boy who physically matures before he is twelve years of age finds many gates open to him that are closed to a later-maturing

boy. As a result, he comes to construe himself in very different ways from the constructions that a less fortunate lad uses to behold himself. Furthermore, there is variation in the physiological functioning seen in different persons. For example, there is a sizeable accumulation of evidence to show that there are measurable inter-individual variations in the functioning of the autonomic nervous systems. Each of these variables can create for an individual a totally unique set of stimulus patterns to which he must respond and, in turn, for which he must develop a set of constructs.

Many times the physical and social environment will respond to a set of biological characteristics in a way that is constantly consistent from person to person. As a result, each of these persons will develop a set of constructs that closely approximates that of the other person. To an observer this similarity might begin to suggest that the constructs were delivered as part of the physical apparatus. As an inquiring scientist ,one is never in a position to rule out the possibility that an organism does develop its constructs directly out of his biology, but personal construct theory does not find this formulation to be one that is attractive. Biology is seen as providing the organism with a structure to which the environment reacts, thereby confirming or negating the validity of the construct which the organism develops.

7. The personal construct theory treats the role of culture in the way that Kelly treats the Commonality and the Sociality Corollaires. Simple, people can develop constructs that are very similar to those of others. It makes a good deal of sense to conserve one's energy and to adopt the kinds of construction that we perceive others to use successfully. At the same time the members of a particular culture, each of whom is motivated by his efforts to extend and to define his own individual system, sees a distinct advantage of being surrounded by others who share his constructs. To the extent that a person can construe the construct system of another person, he is in a

position where he can play a role in influencing that other person's system. He can deliberately arrange validations or disconfirmations of the other person's system; and can, in effect, control the other person's success in anticipating. In so doing he can arrange suitable deviations in the other person's arousal level. And, with the proper care and grooming he can nurture the other person's construct system into the shape he wishes it to be. In this way, he not only plays his role through supplying the dimensions -- the constructs -- but also "reenforces" their continued "proper" use.

8. The culture is described as a "reenforcer" of an individual's construct system. This introduces the issue of what defines the nature of behavioral change, within personal construct theory. We are saying, in effect, that the culture can control behavior change in that it can control construct change. Within the theory of personal constructs, of course, the alteration of a construct is synonomous with behavior change. It is only when the person's constructs are tried and found wanting that we can expect change in his construct system. Only when he predicts and fails to have his prediction confirmed will he retrench to derive a new construction. This is not a necessary outcome of a failure in prediction, but only a failure in prediction will allow for a change in a construct.

9. In the discussion of the issue of the organism's solutions of problems without "awareness", there was an allusion to the notion that the organism could construe by imposing a physical reaction upon a stimulus event. Bartlett, for example, speaks of the "thinking" that is involved in the intricate coordination processes that are used to pick a weight from the floor to place it upon a table. Personal construct theory would emphasize the point that the imposition of this type of physical reaction, an overt behavioral action, upon a stimulus event has the same psychological function as does the imposition of a strictly associative construct. Both internal cognitive

processes and physical action are means of placing the stimulus elements into a frame of reference that remains stable across replications of the event. The role of motor action as thought is getting more and more serious attention from important theorists such as (Piaget, Bartlett). The value of this kind of conception of motor action can be amply demonstrated by studying the exceptional insights that are given to the understanding of thought processes as one reads Piaget's masterful discussions of the continuity of schema development as the child develops from the early sensory-motor period into the pre-conceptual period of thought.

10. The final issue in our list is one that the personal construct theory would essentially dismiss. The relationship of intelligence to personality functioning is not a separate issue within this theory, for intelligence-- the cognizing process -- is totally a part of personality function, that is, general behavior. The organism is constantly engaged in a process of assimilating stimuli into its constructs and accommodating its constructs to fit the incoming stimuli. Each accommodation represents an extension of the system, and, thereby, extends the organism's ability to incorporate future stimuli into its system. The motivation for this process is seen to be intrinsic to the system, that is, it inheres to the organism's interaction with stimulus events. (See Hunt). Through this entire process the organism becomes more "intelligent". There is no way to view intelligence separately from the total general behavior of the organism. As we look at it, intelligence is personality.

It does happen, as we suggested in discussing the Sociality Corollary, that a particular society will find that certain constructions are of more value than other constructions might be. That society is then concerned with having its members develop the desired constructions. There will be efforts to define the nature of the stimulus input that will promote the development of these constructs, and that society's psychologists will be prompted to clarify the motivational variables that will most rapidly and efficiently produce the desired constructs in its members. This state of affairs, however, does not need to lead the psychologist to speak of the desired constructs as "intelligence" and to regard other behavior-controlling constructs as something other than intelligence. Furthermore the concept of intelligence is a construct that society hands an individual as a construct along which he needs to place his personal self. Like so many other personality traits individuals come to see this as an important trait along which to judge themselves and other persons. They see themselves as stupid or as "bright". The consequences of this are immense.

This brief discussion of these major issues in general behavior theory and our effort to indicate how these issues might be regarded within the personal construct theory cannot be satisfactory, either to the theory or to you as listener. The mere stating of one point raises several other points. One could yield to the intrigue of theory building and begin to leap from one conceptual point to the next. It is for this reason that we strive to anchor our discussion in Professor Kelly's structure. We think that it provides valuable starting points for a discussion of general behavior theory from a cognitive point of view. It is hoped that there are students who are waiting to "grab the ball and run" to the point where additional corollaries and sub-corollaries can be added to the theory of personal constructs.

We are leaving a lot unsaid - but we are limited in time, and all we hope to do is stimulate you. Let me say that I had hoped to be more attacking of the kind of psychoanalytic theory, or psuedo - psychoanalytic theory, that dominates counseling and a lot of personality theory. I am infuriated by personality theories which attribute all kinds of nefarious impulses to people, as it is not only bad theory, it also gives people ridiculous concepts along which to construe themselves. The more quickly this kind of theory disappears, the more satisfactory things will become. But I mustn't take the time to attack. You are all readily familiar with this material and we hope you will find a lot of stimulation in the contrasts we have tried to provide.

PERCEPTION OF ONE'S SELF IN TERMS OF PERSON PERCEPTION

by

John Altrocchi

Duke University

I will attempt to bring to bear some of the recent conceptions and findings from the area known as person perception to understanding of perception of the self, with attention to ways in which such ideas can be relevant to your work as college counselors. I will do this by focussing on eight topics which will sometimes but not always be related to each other.

1. Impression formation and the conception of self and others. At least three prominent social psychologists, Roger Brown (1965), Daryl Bem (1965, 1967), and Harold Kelley (1967) suggest that there is considerable similarity between the way people perceive themselves and the way they perceive others. Brown is most explicit, stating that ". . .the self-conception is created by a process of impression formation much like the process by which conceptions of others are created." (1965,p.248). Bem says, ". . .an individual's belief and attitude statements and the beliefs and attitudes that an outside observer would attribute to him are often functionally similar in that both sets of statements are partial 'inferences' from the same evidence . . ." (1967 p. 186). Brown goes so far as to say that the term "impression formation" is just as appropriate for the development of impressions of others because we do not really behave as if we thought we had all the answers about the self; (1965, p. 649) "on the subject of the self, as on the subject of another, the organism never has more than an opinion". (1965, p. 649). Thus it is probable that much of the research on impression formation is relevant to research on develop

ment of the self concept, with the important exception that most of the research has been done with very minimal information on strangers whereas the person has much more than minimal information about himself, and hopefully he is not totally a stranger to himself!

Brown goes further: He points out that the conception of self and the conception of other persons are highly interdependent and are joined together into what one might call "The Theory of One's Life" or, in a term many others have used, one's implicit personality theory. Perhaps the clearest example of this interdependence occurs in the several balance theories, including the theory of cognitive dissonance, which theories are very popular and guide a large portion of the research in social psychology these days. As a simple example, balance theory suggest that if one has a positive opinion of oneself, and likes another person, then there will be a strong force toward a positive evaluation of the other person. Consequently, if one comes in contact with information that suggests something very negative about this other person, this force will lead one to ignore or reinterpret that data or to weaken or dissolve the relationship. Only in rare cases will one significantly change one's self conception. It is perhaps worth noting here that social psychologists suggest, and base much of their research on, the idea that most human beings have a positive evaluation of themselves. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence to suggest that they are correct. Nevertheless, we who deal with a large number of unhappy people see that many of them have a very negative self concept. It is probable that the minority of people who have negative self concepts contribute some unwanted "error" variance in social psychological experiments. I'm sure that you hardly need to be persuaded on this point. In any case, recent thinking in person perception strongly suggest similarity in the development of perception of self and perception of others and an intimate relationship between the two in the functioning of the personality.

2. Making sense out of the interpersonal world. Currently a large number of psychologists involved in the person perception area, influenced to a large extent by the writings of Fritz Heider, make a basic assumption about the motivation of people--that they are strongly motivated to make sense out of their interpersonal worlds. I must admit that I sometimes wonder whether psychologists over-emphasize this motivation because, as psychologists, we are committed to trying to understand the interpersonal world better and make it more coherent, and we may well assume that all people are almost as interested in this as we are. Nevertheless, bypassing this suspicion for the moment, Heider and others suggest that the social world presents more complex stimuls patterns than the physical world but, because persons are the locus of causality, these patterns appear more organized than patterns in the physical world. Thus a large number of complex variables are grasped easily and immediately because persons are perceived as origins of their behavior--that is, they are perceived as having dispositions and intentions. The attribution of dispositions and intentions to others allows stable, harmonious cognitions about persons so as to create a more predictable world (Maselli & Altrocchi, 1969). There is a very significant implication in this: People may be over-inclined to attribute dispositions and intentions to others, particularly when a large amount of new and conflicting information confronts them. Perhaps this is one reason for widespread formulations about plots and conspiricies in modern society (Maselli & Altrocchi, 1969). More relevant for your daily work, however, is an implication that is very similar to the implication of much of the work of the behavior therapists: It may be more important for your counselees to understand in some detail how their own behavior or the

situation influences the behavior of others toward them than to spend a lot of effort deciding upon the benign or malevolent intentions of others toward them.

There is still another implication for your work: This need for order, or need to make sense out of the interpersonal world, provided forces which motivate a person to maintain his accustomed level of self-esteem and his self structure as well as his views of other people. Perhaps one of the important functions of your work with counselees is to help them to be considerably more loose and flexible in these matters. I am reminded of some of the words of Henry Murray (1940)". . . I visualize . . . a flow of powerful subjective life, conscious and unconscious; a whispering gallery in which voices echo from the distant past; a gulf stream of fantasies with floating memories of past events, currents of contending complexes, plots and counterplots, hopeful intimations and ideals. . .A personality is a full Congress of orators and pressure-groups, of children, demagogues, communists,isolationists, war-mongers, mugwomps, grafters, log-rollers, lobbyists, Caesars and Christs, Machiavellis, and Judases, Tories and Promethian revolutionists." (Murray, 1940, pp. 160-161).

Let me try a liberal translation of Murray's words, perhaps a little more relevant to your work with college students in the 1970's:

> "The personalities of your counselees, if they were only fully aware, would probably include the potential for every emotion from rage and hate to tender and passionate love; from ecstasy and euphoria to depression and despair; and from terror to conceit. They would include large elements of the child, the adult, and even the

parent. And they would certainly include not only idealistic, impulsive, revolutionary ideas but also controlled, suppressive, reactionary ideas of the kind they sometimes hear from the establishment.

It will be a theme of this presentation that, to the extent that your counselees are able to be aware of and integrate all these various factors into their self concept, to that extent they will be more fully functioning people."

3. This brings us to the large and complex topic of projection. This word and this topic do not, of course, come primarily from the area of person perception but primarily from the psychodynamic tradition; nevertheless the word, and concepts related to it, pervade the person perception literature. Thus it is well to be clear on the research and conceptual status of the concept of projection before proceeding further.

There have been two excellent reviews of the area of projection in recent years: One by Donald Campbell and associates in Psychological Monographs in 1964; and one by David Holmes in the Psychological Bulletin in 1968. Campbell points out that the term originally comes from optics and he uses the visual after-image phenomenon to illustrate three important aspects of projection: (a) There is an external ascription which is not recognized as such by the projector--he is unaware that he contributes this content but does so in the course of trying to describe external reality; (b) the projected content correlates with some aspect of the projector's person; and (c) usually that aspect of the person is a product of past experience.

Freud, of course, brought the term projection prominently to our attention in his lengthy analysis of the case of Dr. Shreber: "The mechanism of symptom-formation in paranoia requires that internal perceptions or feelings shall be replaced by external perceptions. Consequently the proposition 'I hate him' becomes transformed by projection into another one: 'He hates (but persecutes) me', which will justify my hating him; and thus the unconscious feeling, which is in fact the motive force, makes its appearance as though it was the consequent of an external perception" (Freud, 1953).

Note that both the optical and psychoanalytic conceptions of projection suggest that what is projected is something of which the person is unaware. However, Holmes' incisive review of the area points out, as have previous reviews, that there is no evidence for any type of projection of a trait which the subject is not aware that he possesses. In contrast, there is clear and consistent evidence that people often do ascribe traits to other people which they also consciously ascribe to themselves and often ascribe to other people traits which are complimentary to the ones they consciously ascribe to themselves. Individuals ascribe to other people traits that they think they possess, especially if the subject perceives the other person as being similar to himself. Similarly, there is clear evidence that people sometimes attribute to others traits which compliment their own traits or feelings. Thus, for example, there is evidence that a frightened boy will attribute fright to other boys and frightening characteristics to older men. But let me note again that this evidence only holds when the boy is aware that he is frightened. Thus it seems that a concept that originally seemed extremely useful--projection of traits of which one is unaware--has fared poorly in the crucible of hard experimental analysis. It seems that the psychoanalytic conception of projection at best applies only under certain circumstances and "represents only a limited instance of the various ways in which characteristics of the perceiver can influence his perception of other people" (Feshbach, 1964, p. 8).

Does this mean that our clients never project onto us or others traits or feelings of which they are unaware? As a clinician, this seems to me extremely unlikely. What we see in our work, however, are probably rare instances in which particular kinds of people under particular kinds of stress attribute traits or feelings to particular kinds of other people. Such specifics are very difficult to uncover in normative experimental research.

Fortunately, however, the research that has been done in the area of projection does not simply leave us with a shambles. There are several useful sets of findings and concepts that emerge:

(a) There may be individual differences in readiness to respond perceptually to others. For instance, so called sensitizers may be more vigilant to perceiving differences among others or among aspects of themselves while repressors may perceive themselves and others in a more uniform way. To take a more dramatic example, in the area of attribution of hostile intent, there are paranoid individuals who seem all too ready to attribute such intent whereas there are others like Billy Budd and Desdamona who seem incapable of sensing malice in others. Since these latter two individuals died, "it would perhaps be wise to consider that attribution of hostile intent to another is a necessary facet of human functioning charged with the task of self-preservation, lack of which capacity can constitute a direct peril to one's very existence" (Nadel & Altrocchi, 1969).

(b) It is apparent that many people maintain certain response sets toward other people and toward themselves. These may be Cassandran and Panglossian response sets (both of these self explanatory terms are from Campbell). Needless to say, if such response sets are used indiscriminately or in an over-generalized fashion, our clients will need to learn to discriminate among people better.

(c) Adaptation-level theory suggests the usefulness of the contrast phenomenon in understanding some elements of person perception that could otherwise be interpreted loosely as projection, and a number of current investigators are persuaded by this point of view. In the contrast phenomenon, the individual sees other persons as having a position opposite to his own on some bi-polar dimension. Berkowitz (1960) suggests that in the area of personality judgments the individual's self-concept is the "standard"--to use a term from psychophysics. Thus, when the subject sees others as close to himself on a trait, assimilation occurs and he is likely to judge them as even more similar to himself; but when he sees others as far from himself on a trait, contrast occurs (Holmes, 1968). For example, a person who sees himself as friendly, would see other people who are friendly as being quite friendly, possibly more like himself than they actually are, but somewhat less friendly people who might be beyond a sort of "difference threshold" would be seen as very hostile or less like him than they actually are. As Holmes (1968) points out, it should be noted that this flop-over effect is independent of any of the psychodynamics of defensive functioning usually associated with the concept of projection. Contrast, if and when it occurs, is a judgmental matter based on considerable prior knowledge. Thus, it is quite possible that contrast effects account for some of the phenomena that we view as projection.

If so, the implications for counseling are that our clients, counselees, and patients need to be aware, in a differentiated fashion, of their own judgments of themselves and how these judgments may affect their judgments of others, and they need to be ready and willing to check their judgments against other peoples' judgments of these same people when necessary. Needless to say, we often work on such problems with our counselees. It is perhaps only important to re-emphasize these problems here and to point out that these research findings emphasize the importance of current here-and-now functioning in preference to detailed reconstruction of past developmental' trends as in classical psychoanalytic theory.

(d) Reactivity--or provoking. Clearly a correlation between one's traits and the traits he sees in others can emerge from the reactions the others make to one's own traits. Thus, an unfriendly domineering person may drive other people away and thus may correctly see these other people as behaving in a withdrawn or negativistic fashion. He is not projecting, nor is he really distorting his perception; but he is provoking these reactions in the other people. Again, the therapeutic implications are clear and are congruent with many trends in the current practice of counseling and psychotherapy: Our clients, counselees, and patients need to be very clear about the ways in which they behave and how they provoke responses from other people. Sometimes this is best learned in the context of an intimate one-to-one relationship between counselor and counselee; sometimes you can best promote this understanding by helping the person to deal with an intimate like a boyfriend, girlfriend, or spouse; and sometimes this work is best done in therapy groups which can be seen as living laboratory experiences in learning about how one behaves with other people and provokes responses from them.

(e) Finally, what is often missing in correlational studies of projection is arousal of strong and usually negative affect which may be quite necessary for eliciting what classical projection there is. The common element in the studies which do find projection, where the characteristics of the subject are assessed independently from his view of a stimulus person, is that in all such studies a strong and usually aversive motive was aroused prior to the attribution task (Campbell, et al, 1964). Feshbach (1964) has pointed out that two very different kinds of studies of person perception and two very different kinds of processes may be involved. It seems reasonable that there are some judgmental relationships between the stable traits of a perceiver and his stable judgments of others since both are learned by similar processes and reinforced over time: One's judgments of others define one's judgments of the self and vice versa. In contrast, with induced affective states, one is dealing with a strong, immediate stimulus with which the perceiver is coping while observing stimulus persons at the same time. These affective states will then color the perceiver's judgment within the limits imposed by the structural properties of the stimulus. Again, there seems to be a clear implication for our clinical work: Pay extremely close attention to the affect or affects that are influencing the perceptions and behavior of the person. Let me illustrate this point with a literary, almost poetic passage from John Knowles' novel A Separate Peace (1959).

> "All of them, all except Phineas, constructed at infinite cost to themselves these Maginot lines against this enemy they thought they saw across the frontier, this enemy who never attacked that way -- if he ever attacked at all; if he was indeed the enemy". (p. 196)

4. Dissonance theory. As you probably know, Festinger's dissonance theory has been one of the most powerful influences in social psychology in the last decade. It has produced an out-pouring of clever experiments and is now in the crucial stage of considerable criticism, competing explanations and hypotheses, and some attention to the different reactions that different individuals have to dissonance induction. A small portion of dissonance research has been relevant to perception of self and others. In a series of studies, Bramel (Bramel, 1962; 1963; Bramel, Bell, & Margulis, 1965) has attributed significantly to understanding person perception.. Bramel points out that when a person feels fear but perceives nothing in the situation adequate to account for it, he will experience cognitive dissonance because his belief that he is afraid is dissonant with his belief that the situation is not fear arousing, and this might cause him to change his judgment of the interpersonal situation. It may be that complimentary projection is used to avoid this threatening and unpleasant situation by providing a justification for the feelings (Holmes, 1968). Bramel also pointed out that some traits are anxiety provoking because they are dissonant with the self concept. In two studies in which he was able to convince the subjects that they had homosexual inclinations by means of a machine which purportedly measured their degree of homosexual arousal, Bramel was able to demonstrate that a person is more likely to attribute an undesireable trait to others if the information that he himself possesses this trait is dissonant with his self concept; and that he is more likely to attribute such traits to respected persons and to a person in his own social category than to a member of a different social category.

It seems to me that the dissonance approach to trait attribution is well worth further research and that Bramel's findings imply that defensive misattribution is more likely to occur when a person is unduly anxious and when he has a rigid and limited self concept. The implication that some of our work should be aimed toward clarification and reduction of such anxiety and broadening and making more flexible the self concept are, of course, quite familiar to us, but it is nice to have them supported, even indirectly, by laboratory data.

5. Differentiation. Several prominent investigators such as Witkin, Bieri, Gardner, and Harvey, Hunt and Schroder have proposed that concepts such as differentiation and cognitive complexity are useful in the study of person perception. Conceptually, differentiation refers to the tendency to make fine distinctions among people and thus to perceive them as different from one another (Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964). It is postulated that a more differentiated conceptual system with a greater number of descriptive dimensions available would allow for a more precise, unique description of other people. It has been shown that people with differentiated or cognitively complex conceptual systems are better able to predict how others will respond in a series of social situations and are less likely to change their initial impressions of others after receiving contradictory information about them (Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964). Again, however, I sometimes feel a little suspicious of the usefulness of the concept of differentiation because it seems so congruent with the biases of cognitively complex, sometimes obsessively differentiated psychologists. More important, however, some studies (e.g. Vannoy, 1965; Shrauger, 1967) have shown very little relationship between different measures of differentiation. "Either the measures derived thus far are not adequately assessing the construct of differentiation, or the degree of differentiation is so intimately associated with the specific types of people judged and the situations under which descriptions are given that it has little generality." (Shrauger, 1967, p. 413) If

current and future research can clarify these methodological problems, which seem probable, then it will be possible to investigate such problems as whether differentiation in perception of others is related to differentiation of the self concept; and whether differentiation of the self concept is related to better personality functioning. To my knowledge, there is no evidence on these issues at the present time. It would seem that the latter issue is particularly relevant to practicing psychologists because it seems apparent to me that a considerable amount of our effort is devoted to furthering the degree of differentiation of the self-concepts of our clients. Here is one of many areas in which you can play an important role in the accumulation of knowledge. You are faced with many golden opportunities for empirical investigation in your daily work and the field of psychology and social and behavior science in general badly needs the kind of information, carefully studied, recorded, and experimented upon, with which you are in contact every day.

6. Discrepancies among perception of others, perception of self, and own behavior. One of my colleagues at Duke, Robert Carson, has integrated some interpersonal and interactional concepts in personality and social psychology in a book which came out last week -- Interactional Concepts of Personality (1969). In a section dealing specifically with the views of Secord and Backman it is postulated that there is an imbalance, or state of tension or anxiety, whenever there is incongruence or discrepancy among (a) the way the person perceives the behavior of other people toward him; (b) the person's conception of himself; and (c) the way he perceives his own behavior. Carson points out that Secord and Backman list five ways by means of which people achieve and maintain congruency among these three--

perception of others, perception of self, and own behavior; and that all five can be used in an excessive manner as an integral part of behavior which breaks the residual rules of their culture and is then labeled as abnormal or disordered behavior. These excessive ways of achieving balance have some relevance for your work:

a. Disordered cognitive restructuring. The person may distort his perception of himself or his behavior or the behavior of others. The many forms of disordered cognitive restructuring essentially involve the formulation of invalid causal attributions to "explain" one's own behavior or that of the other person.

b. Disordered selective evaluation. The self-threatening aspects of the state of incongruency may be mitigated to a certain extent by selectively enhancing the personal value of self-congruent components of experience and selectively derogating incongruent components. The result is most often seen in subtle disparagement of the therapist, a friend, or a marriage partner.

c. Disordered selective interaction. Self congruency may be maintained by limiting oneself to interacting with others whose behavior is complimentary or self-confirmatory. This is most dramatically seen in neurotic choice of friends and marriage partners.

d. Disordered evocation of congruent responses. This is the familiar pattern of behaving in such restricted and well-practiced ways that strong forces are brought to bear on the other person or persons in the interaction to behave in complimentary ways. The expertise of the paranoid in provoking rejection from others is a dramatic example. Obviously, people play many "games" with each other in these ways, as we have dramatically been reminded by Eric Berne in recent years.

e. Disordered social comparison. Incongruent information may be transformed through social comparison processes; one changes one's scale of judgments of one's own characteristics and those of others, sometimes resulting in misattribution of traits or motivations to other people or to oneself.

Some implications of these principles for therapeutic work are clear. May be you will think of others. At least, however, it would seem that part of the process of helping people who are involved in these various excessive attempts to maintain balance would be to help them face very clearly and undefensively their own conceptions of themselves, their own behavior as seen by themselves and others, and their perceptions of others. Some of this we have learned to do rather well in individual counseling and psychotherapy. However, if we really view disordered behavior in its social context, it would be hard to imagine that the ideal way to deal with most or all disordered behavior is to engage in individual, one-to-one conferences with the people whose behavior is seen as disordered. I fully realize that proposing a change in your way of working would often be extremely difficult administratively and otherwise, but we may have to face all kinds of extreme administrative difficulties in the next few years and I think it is very much worth our thinking along these lines.

7. The influence of behavior. Most of us have received our training under the auspices of one or another theoretical system that assumes that behavior is based on attitudes and feelings, and that if we change a person's attitudes and feelings, particularly about himself, his behavior will change. The behavior therapists have dramatically challenged this assumption and

have turned it around, suggesting that a person's attitudes and often his feelings result from his behavior, so that what we need to work on changing directly is his behavior. Once again this suggests that we should look further into techniques of behavioral analysis, including group techniques, in our work. But there is a further problem that Bem and Brehm (1966) have elucidated: If we as investigators or therapists force or seem to be forcing a person to change his behavior, this is much less likely to influence his attitudes or feelings than if he responsds,or at least thinks he responds, of his own free will.

This brings us face to face with another problem in counseling and psychotherapy: We are trying to help the person do his own thing and make decisions on his own while at the same time we are trying to influence him. Put another way, we are trying to help him become more independent by putting him temporarily in a dependent position. The research on person perception and the research on the self concept do not, in my opinion, provide any clear answer to this puzzle. I would be very interested to know how you handle this problem.

8. Situational variability. Most of us have been trained in the field of personality, individual functioning, psychodynamics, counseling, and psychotherapy. In all of these fields we pay particular attention to individual functioning and individual differences: We pay particular attention to the degree to which the behavior of human beings is a function of internal psychodynamics and individual differences. The entire field of social psychology, however, focuses on situational variability: That is, the degree to which human behavior is influenced by the situation with which people are faced. As a simple example, Kenneth Gergen (1968) has performed a number of

experiments with college students in which he was able to manipulate the level of self esteem of his subjects rather dramatically. Admittedly, college students, who are often still in the period of identity crisis, would probably not usually have as stable self concepts as older people, but, after all, you are dealing with college students most of the time. In any case, we have tended to view self-esteem as a moderately stable individual difference variable, but it has been shown that self-esteem can be manipulated experimentally. There are many other examples of the power of situational variables. To my knowledge, no one has done a comprehensive scholarly review comparing the evidence on the amount of variability in human behavior accounted for by individual differences and by situational variables, but I am sure that the current status of hard evidence would suggest that situational variables are more powerful.

If situational variables are more powerful in influencing human behavior than are individual differences or individual psychodynamics, then does it make maximum good sense for us to be spending the vast majority of our time working with individuals and struggling with restructuring their individual psychodynamics when we are trying to change their behavior? Probably not. I realize I am speaking idealistically, but in the long run, it looks as if we should be paying more attention to techniques learned from social psychology which involve attitude and behavior change. Let me give you an example of how this line of thinking might influence our behavior. This particular example comes from the field of community psychology which has occupied a great deal of my attention for many years. Rhodes (1967), Carson (1969), and others have pointed out that the behavior of many people, which is often called disturbed behavior, would probably more fruitfully be labeled disturbing. That is, if your work in colleges is at all like what happens at Duke or what happens in my work in schools, students will sometimes be referred to you for behavior which has disturbed other people. A student has been violating rules in some way or has been bothering other people. Perhaps he has been indiscrete sexually or with the use of alcohol or has behaved "too aggressively" in relationship to some authority figure. In the extreme case, when such a person is referred to you unwillingly, you will, if you are at all like me, have a very low success rate in counseling such a person. Therefore I have devised the principle over the last few years of spending the bulk of my initial efforts with the person who initiates the referral. It is most likely that this is the person who has been most disturbed by the behavior in question. In mental health consultation we frequently discover that it is the principal or the teacher or the Dean or the referring person who has been disturbed by the behavior of a student. We find that we can make considerably more progress dealing with that person that with the student. This would suggest that, if we are to ideally fulfill our role as psychologists and mental health professionals in a college setting, not only will we have a responsibility to contribute to the gradual accumulation of knowledge about what leads to disturbed or disturbing behavior but we will also apply some of our efforts, perhaps a majority of our efforts, to consulting with and counseling professors and administrators and perhaps even trustees. With that provocative point let me conclude the formal presentation.

A SOCIAL LEARNING APPROACH TO COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH

by

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There is probably no field in the psychological health sciences which has created as much enthusiasm but is suffering as much from a dearth of ideas as the field of community mental health. Most government agencies and laymen are eager to support programs for reducing or preventing the psychological casualties of our society. Money, facilities and a great many willing hands are available. In most instances this has resulted in the development of more clinics or hospitals and attempts for earlier diagnosis and treatment of maladjusted children and adults on one hand, and on the other hand a rebirth of some of the earlier sociological programs for treating delinquency such as improving recreational opportunities, job training, job placement and establishing better communication between sub-cultural groups and parents and adolescent children. The assumption underlying most of these programs is that if we could solve the economic problems of the poor and provide more and earlier treatment for the disturbed we would be solving the problems of mental health in our society.

While an increasing number of publications are written on community mental health it is difficult indeed to discover exactly to what the term refers. However, implicit in many essays is the idea that a society without psychotics, neurotics or delinquents is in fact the goal of community mental health.

It seems to me that one must begin in this field by arriving at some consensus as to what constitutes a healthy community or an adjusted community, and then proceed by the application of demonstrated theory and by exploratory research, to produce suggestions for a change in the nature of the community. It does not seem self-evident to me that even the achievement of a community without psychotics, neurotics and delinquents is necessarily a healthy community. Theoretically such a community could exist in which everyone was programmed into a role, a set of beliefs, and a repertory of behaviors which never offended the rest of the community nor were considered psychopathological but which, neverthless, neither produced that subjective feeling or reaction which we call joy or happiness nor produced new ideas and change.

It is my belief that the major contribution of psychology to the field of community mental health will not come from simply providing more clinicians to staff clinics and hospitals but from applying psychology's theoretical and research sophistication in the study of individual adjustment to the broad area of societal adjustment.

The notion of community mental health, like the concept of adjustment, is a value concept rather than a scientific concept. That is, it is a set of judgments dealing with what is good and what is bad. Different value systems utilizing the same theory might well lead to very different methods of practice. If our idea about community mental health is merely to eliminate the grossly pathological our whole approach would be quite different than it would be if our concern were to eliminate the feelings of inadequacy, anxiety or expectancy for punishment which presently beset most of the population striving for some abstract goal of success.

Basically there are three value systems which could be applied to the definition of community mental health. The first of these is a conformity of pathology value system. From this frame of reference society itself defines what is bad. Deviation from the group in the direction which is presumed to be bad is to be eliminated. If society says that a grown man should not prefer to spend his time in the kitchen cooking, or work as a truck gardener when he has a college education, or stay unmarried in spite of apparent good health, then we should prevent such things from happening or if they happen, cure people of these illnesses. While such a criterion may make some sense when applied to the grossly disturbed or anti-social, there are many aspects of it which may have made sense at one time but no longer do. For reasons of cultural lag many concepts of psychopathology continue to be built into the approval and disapproval values of a society but without present clear-cut justification. For example, thumbsucking was once considered bad for a child because it led to crooked teeth. Dentists have demonstrated that it does not lead to crooked teeth. However, if a child persists in sucking his thumb after ages three and four, it is still a cause for concern among parents and pre-school teachers and our treatment facilities are mobilized to eliminate this bad behavior.

The second value system implicit for many in the concept of maladjustment and potentially community mental health, is that of subjective happiness. Community mental health is improved as more and more people are free from internal feelings of tension, conflict, anxiety or expectations of punishment. From this point of view alone, one would have to conclude in many instances that many aspects of our society which we have previously regarded as scientific or productive advances are actually detrimental to the mental health of this society.

The third value orientation which can be applied to the concept of community mental health is that of social constructiveness. Here the goal is one of having a society in which all of the individuals were maximally socially constructive. Of course, there still remains in this orientation the problem of defining what constitutes constructive activities. Usually from such a point of view, the so-called under achiever is considered a problem, although he might not at all be so considered from the point of view of subjective freedom from conflict.

There is no right or wrong to these various value conceptions but it is not possible, at least for me, to think about or talk about community mental health or how to improve community mental health without first making a commitment to one or the other of these value concepts or some explicit combination of them.

As the title of this paper suggests, I do intend to try to apply some social learning concepts to an analysis of at least a few of the salient problems of our society. In order to do this, I must also make a value commitment which is not in itself part of a social learning theory but represents my own feelings as I can best sort them at this time.

I would consider the healthy society one in which the smallest possible number of people are faced with highly valued goals which they have no hope of reaching and consequently the smallest number of individuals who are suffering from feelings of frustration, unhappiness or expectation of punishment. Secondly, I would consider a healthy society one in which the fewest individuals are making no constructive contribution to the welfare of others. The emphasis here is not on a maximum contribution but at least a sufficient contribution to carry their own weight in that society. Conflicts may well exist between subjective-happiness and maximal contribution but real conflicts are less likely to occur with minimal criteria for constructive behavior. It is already true that large numbers of college youths are rejecting high personal ambitions and trying to live a less anxious and driven way of life at the cost of giving up striving for personal success and high achievement. Such youths are now in conflict with parents, educators and indeed government officials all of whom regard them as serious problems. Thirdly, I would consider as an unhealthy society, one which is not changing or evolving in the direction of increasing the subjective happiness of its members and increasing the degree to which members contribute to each other.

Basic Concepts in Social Learning Theory

At this point I would like to present a few of the basic concepts in social learning theory which may have special applicability to an analysis of the conflicts in our society which tend to produce large numbers of people who are unhappy, non-constructive or both.

Social learning theory may be briefly characterized as an expectancy learning theory which utilizes an empirical law of effect. In this theory (Rotter, 1954) the basic formula for the prediction of goal directed behavior is:

$$1.\quad B.P._{x,s_1R_a} = \underline{f}\,(E_{x,}R_{a,s_1}\ \&\ RV_{a,}\ s_1)$$

The formula may be read: the potential for behavior x to occur in situation 1 in relation to reinforcement a is a function of the expectancy of the occurrence of reinforcement a following behavior x in situation 1, and the value of reinforcement a in situation 1. It is assumed that expectancies can be measured along a continuum. Such a formula, however, is extremely limited in application for it deals only with the potential for a given behavior to occur in relationship to a single specific reinforcement. Practical clinical application requires a more generalized concept of behavior and the formula for these broader concepts is:

$$2.\quad B.P._{(x-n),s(1-n),}\ R_{(a-n)} = f(E_{x-n),s(1-n)}\ \&\ R.V._{(a-n),s(1-n)}$$

This may be read: The potentiality of the functionally related behaviors X to n to occur in the specified situations 1 to n in relation to potential reinforcements a to n is a function of the expectancies of these behaviors leading to these reinforcements in these situations and the values of these reinforcements in these situations. For purposes of simplicity of communication, the three basic terms in this formula have been typically referred to as need potential, freedom of movement and need value as in the third formula:

$$3.\quad N.P. = f\ (F.M.\ \&\ N.V.)$$

In this formula the fourth concept, that of the psychological situation is implicit. One set of content categories in this theory lies then in empirically determined needs arrived at by grouping behaviors which have some functional relationship on the basis of their leading to the same or similar reinforcements. The generality or breadth of such concepts depends on one's purpose. For example, at a very general level we may use terms such as need for recognition and status, need for love and affection, need for dependence, need for independence, need for dominance and need for physical comfort. At a more specific level, typical concepts might be need for academic recognition, need for aggression toward authority figures, need for love and affection from same sex peers, etc. The basis for such needs derives not from presumed instincts or drives but is empirically determined and follows from the learning experience of the individuals of a given culture.

The variables referred to above and operations for measurement have been defined and further explicated in a previous publication (Rotter, 1954).

Some Major Hypotheses and Their Implications

In the area of mental health we are usually concerned with classes of behaviors or more general characteristics. Consequently, this paper will deal primarily with the formula that need potential is a function of freedom of movement and need value for a particular class of situations. A part of this theory which is crucial for the problem of mental health is the specific hypotheses regarding the behavior of an individual with low freedom of movement and high need value for a particular class of satisfactions. Such a person is likely to learn behaviors to avoid the failure or punishments that he anticipates in this area and may make attempts to achieve these goals on an irreal level. For example, the person anticipating punishment or failure may avoid situations physically, avoid by repression or may attempt to reach the goals through rationalization, fantasy or symbolic means. Most of the great variety of behaviors commonly regarded as defenses or psychopathological symptoms are here referred to as avoidance or irreal behaviors. Such avoidance and irreal behaviors themselves may frequently start a vicious cycle and lead to both immediate and delayed additional negative reinforcements. Expectancies for punishment may also give rise to a number of implicit behaviors, thoughts or conditions, that can be observed only indirectly. Such implicit behaviors may include awareness of disturbed body states, fixation on the punishment, narrowing the field of attention, rehéarsal of obsessive thoughts, etc. which can seriously interfere with constructive behavior or problem solution. In other words, at the bottom of a problem involving either lack of a feeling of satisfaction, conflict, anticipation of punishment, irreal behavior, or lack of constructive activity, is frequently a condition of low freedom of movement and high need value.

Low freedom of movement may result from a person's lack of knowledge or ability to acquire adequate behaviors to reach his goals or may be a consequence of the nature of the goal itself (as the desire to have others take all responsibility for one's actions which frequently results in strong punishments in our society.) Low freedom of movement may also result from "mistaken" evaluations of the present as a consequence of early experience. For a given person sometimes the behaviors, sometimes "erroneous" expectations, and sometimes the nature of his goals may be considered to be the primary source of difficulty.

An important aspect of the problem of low freedom of movement in social learning theory concerns the concept of minimal goal level. In any given situation the possible outcomes of behavior can be ordered from a very high positive reinforcement or goal to a very high negative reinforcement or goal. The theoretical point at which, in this ordering the outcome changes from positive or reinforcing to negative or punishing is called the minimal goal level. Such a concept can be applied either to a series of goals that are functionally related, e.g., all achievement goals, or to any combination of outcomes possible in a given situation or set of situations. An individual may have low freedom of movement although from the viewpoint of others he appears to succeed often because his reinforcements usually are below his own minimal goal level.

For example, if we were to give everyone in a typical suburban high school class a grade of "C", it would be above the minimal goal for some and they would be positively reinforced. For a few it would be a neutral grade and for most it would be regarded as a negative reinforcement. Parents would be disappointed and even punitive and the student would know that it represents an evaluation on the part of the teacher that he is a dull clod and not worth bothering about. It is, of course, interesting that we choose to give grades of "C" or less to two-thirds or more of our classes.

Similarly, if twenty husbands came home and said, "Hello dear," and each gave his wife a perfunctory peck on the cheek...some wives would be delighted with such a show of affection, some would regard it neutrally and some would burst into tears because their husbands no longer loved them. Each wife would have different minimal goals for the expression of affection.

Internalized high minimal goals are frequently involved in problems of low freedom of movement. It should be stressed at this point that the goals referred to can be of any kind: moral, ethical, achievement, sexual, affectional, dominating, dependent, etc. In social learning theory any functionally related set of reinforcements towards which the individual moves is considered the basis for assuming a need and for which a need potential, freedom of movement, and need value can be determined.

In order to increase the person's freedom of movement for goals he values highly, one possible approach is to change the values of the goals themselves. This might be necessary under conditions in which the person has two or more goals of high value but of such nature that the satisfaction of one involves the frustration of the other, as in the case of individuals with strong desires for masculinity and dependency satisfactions in the same situations. Another instance would be one in which the desire to control and dominate others leads to conflict with others' needs and eventuates in both immediate and delayed punishment. A third instance requiring changing the value of goals involves the lowering of minimal goals when they are unrealistically high, such as in the case of an individual who regards any indication of fear in himself as proof that he is not sufficiently masculine.

To understand how minimal goal levels can be changed, one has to consider how the values attached to reinforcement are acquired, maintained, and changed. In social learning theory, the value of a reinforcement in a given situation is hypothesized to be a function of the expectancies that the reinforcement will lead to subsequent reinforcements, and of the value of these subsequent reinforcements as in the following formula:

$$4.\quad R.V._{a,s_1} = f(E_{R_{a} \rightarrow R_{(b-n)},\, s_1} \,\&\, R.V._{(b-n),\, s_1})$$

If a Child believes that getting an "A" in school will lead to affection, then the value of the "A" is dependent upon the value of the affection and the expectancy that the affection will be forthcoming. If he feels that a "B" will lead to rejection, a similar analysis holds. For most goals each reinforcement is related to several consequent reinforcements rather than one. The problem of changing minimal goals, then, or in changing the value of any goal or set of goals, is one of changing expectancies for subsequent reinforcement.

I hope that this brief and sketchy background of some social learning hypotheses will be of value in understanding and reevaluating a few of what I regard as major conflicts within our society. I would like to turn now to an examination of these conflicts.

Some Crucial Conflicts of Our Society

In the following remarks I will be particularly concerned with aspects of our culture which tend to produce in many the condition of unrealistically high minimal goals and consequent low freedom of movement resulting in avoidant and nonconstructive behavior. Placed at the level of society's organization rather than at the level of individual personality organization such a condition of high minimal goal and low freedom of movement has a partial parallel in the sociological concept of anomie, particularly in the meaning that there are goals that are highly desired by most of the group but the socially approved pathways to these goals are closed to all but a few. As a result, many individuals trying to obtain these goals must retreat or find socially unapproved behaviors.

There are four broad areas in which I believe that our society has built in serious culture conflicts: the area of education, occupation and recreation; the area of love and marriage; the area of friendship and social acceptance; and finally, the area of morality. In all of these the social group as a whole typically attempts to set high minimal goals which most people have little or no hope of reaching. As a result, the society produces not only a great many casualties whose extreme behavior has brought them to the notice of the psychological health services, but also a great many people who suffer from unhappiness and nonconstructive behavior, in that great mysterious group we call normals. Many of these unhappy "normals" may well be the parents of the psychological casualties of the next generation.

I have placed together education, occupation and recreation since all three are characterized in our society by a highly competitive emphasis. Satisfactions typically obtained in school, on the job and often in recreation are the satisfactions of demonstrating competitive superiority over others. In a society, such as ours, where such high value is placed on conformity, it seems indeed a strange irony that children are taught they should try to be best in anything they do. If they can't be best, they are told that they at least should be above average. Many parents have justified to me their broad tolerant view of their child's accomplishments by stating that they really don't expect their child to be the best, only above average. For most of the middle class to be average is clearly to be inadequate--C grades, average income and average ability whether in bridge, golf or bowling is not enough to be respected or rewarded. In spite of this, most people who are only average do manage to survive in our society. They do get into college, get average jobs, buy average homes, drive around in average cars, but what we make sure in our training is that they won't enjoy the life they lead!

Apparently in order to force increased effort from a few, society is willing to sacrifice the many who are made, in the long run, to feel that their efforts are inadequate and that they are stupid, clumsy and unsuccessful. In fact, I hesitate to think what our society would be like if we were not able to deal with this continuous barrage of failure experiences with repression, rationalization and projection.

If you are going to play bridge, golf or tennis or even to grow roses in the garden, you had better do it well or else forget it. The fact that this competitive myth has permeated so many of our recreational activities explains for me why so many people waste so many hours at the television set where at least on a symbolic or irreal basis they can obtain satisfactions through identification without experiencing personal inadequacy.

I refer to the competitive myth, since I feel our society is not as competitive as parents and teachers make out. It is worth doing things and learning in school even though one cannot do it better than others. One can become rich, successful, and even president with poor grades in school. Our society itself has evolved to the place where there is an easy availability of food, clothing and shelter for everyone. A highly competitive effort is not necessary either for the individual or for the social group, and it is possible for many to be both happy and constructive without devoting most of their efforts to being better than others.

What I have been saying is that society in the form of the school system, parents, the mass media and government have been setting minimal goals which are impossible of achievement for most people and that these goals are not related to the individual's own capacities but rather to his position in the superiority scale with others and consequently logically as well as pragmatically impossible to be reached by most. The obvious remedy is to lower these minimal goals, by the school and the parents providing acceptance and reward for what the individual can do and for constructive efforts to improve his skills and to recognize and accept the constructive role of all kinds of activities, not merely those which are considered to be of higher status or provide greater material rewards. Alfred Adler has long emphasized that adjustment in our society is based far more on cooperation and less on competition than we ever let our children know. Perhaps a healthy society needs to concentrate more on teaching cooperation and rewarding it in the home and school than is now the case.

The psychologist's potential contribution to mental health in this area could lie in his laboratory and field studies of the effects of setting the same high goals for everyone regardless of ability to achieve them and through his efforts to apply what he knows in advising school systems, parent-teacher bodies and in parent education. Particularly for the early years of compulsory education, the present grading system is an evil which needs to be changed.

Assessing the effects of the mass media on community mental health presents particularly difficult problems. We learn from television, radio, and magazines, particularly through advertising, that only the successful man gets the beautiful girl and the material rewards. Only the girl who is made beautiful by the right combination of soaps, lipsticks, hairsprays, mouthwashes, etc. can expect to get the man of her desires. A recent New Yorker magazine article, in commenting on the prosecution of publishers for obscenity, had the following to say, "But what about the obscenity that comes to us with the mass media every day urging us to buy things we do not need, with money we do not have, for telewd rewards that simply do not exist." It is true that radio and television have been able to claim that nobody has domonstrated the harm done by its choice of programming either through violence, sex, etc. But it seems highly likely to me that there has been a serious effect, perhaps not as much from the Westerns which are, after all, our current morality plays, but from the advertising and much apparently less noxious programming which again help to set minimal goals beyond the reach of most. They teach that to obtain the rewards of life, one must be handsome or beautiful, clever and successful. In any case, in spite of the obvious difficulties in trying to isolate the significance of one aspect of the culture we badly need to develop methodologies for investigating the effects of mass media on adjustment. Psychologists interested in the problem of adjustment perhaps have been influenced too long by the analyst's emphasis solely on early childhood and the immediate family.

The second major area of culture conflict is that of sex and marriage. It must seem clear to the casual observer that marriage does not solve all the problems of either males or females or satisfy their needs for love and affection. The current number of divorces and annulments per year is approximately around 400,000 and the number of children affected by such divorces is approximately a half million. That the number of divorces is not higher partly results from the fact that the poor can't afford divorce. A recent experiment in free legal advice in Minnesota indicated that 84% of the problems brought to the law clinic involved inquiries into the legal and economic complications of divorce. How many couples in addition to those who obtain divorces live in mutual discomfort and disharmony is hard to estimate, but it is abundantly clear that this quaint custom of marriage as practiced in our society still leaves something to be desired. The problem of the discrepancy between our covert sexual practices and our covert sexual morality has been discussed many times and when some new data is obtained we never cease to be amazed at the number of people who seem to be doing what they aren't supposed to do, many suffer from guilt, many from disenchantment, but more than anything else from the failure to obtain satisfactions they have been led to expect. Most men enter into marriage with the belief that the girl, if she really loves him, will devote herself entirely to his comfort, will look up to him regardless of what he does and will provide him with all the sexual satisfactions which have somehow eluded him prior to marriage. Similarly, women expect a romantic husband who will continuously shower them with evidence of affection and will treat them like princesses rather than scullery maids. Again we have perpetrated some kind of myth in childhood and adolescence and set high minimal goals with little chance of achieving them for most people. If the myth is exploded before marriage often the male retreats from marriage. The female has less choice of retreat because merely staying unmarried is in itself a failure to achieve a goal which has been pounded into her as a minimal requirement for happiness. To add to this, we still maintain the myth of male superiority in the home and of relatively non-overlapping functions of male and female while, in fact, in our current practices, the male and female roles are becoming harder and harder to distinguish. The man who is not the boss in his own home, whose wife makes as much or more money than he does, who is under pressure to perform more and more tasks around the home which were once considered feminine, is indeed under a great deal of psychological stress. Without elaborating these points, I would simply like to assert that there is a great area of neglected research into the nature of sex roles, the nature of expectations about sex roles, adolescents' expectations regarding sexual behavior, expectations regarding marriage, knowledge about the facts of sex and marriage and the relationship of all of these to sexual and marital adjustment. I would not presume to suggest that either psychology or psychologists, at this stage, can clearly support suggestions for change in marriage laws and public sexual morality. It does seem highly likely to me, however, that efforts to create a realistic understanding of what is literally happening in our society could be extremely useful and the reduction of false expectations and false beliefs would lead to less unhappiness and disturbance than our current situation. No one will be injured to discover that marriage is more romantic and satisfying than they expected, but many are injured because it is less so. Finally we need to know much more about what the effects are and what the possibilities of adjustment are for people who in fact do not follow the culturally prescribed sex roles, including not only homosexuals but also older men and women who have never married and married couples who have in some ways switched conventional sex roles. Our sexual mores have changed tremendously in the last hundred years and the expectations which are taught to children and adolescents have not kept up with these changes, nor have we found a way of bringing together the overt and covert moralities involving sexual behavior which now produce guilt and confusion in a great many people.

The area of friendship and social acceptance is a third aspect of our culture in which we have produced a characteristic cultural conflict. We have taught our children that if they are good, successful, attractive, and skilled, they should have large numbers of friends and that these friends will be people who like them, do things for them and help them. In some studies we have made in high schools it is difficult to find a single person who feels that he has enough friends or that the other children really like him. This feeling is just as much present in those who sociometrically are the most popular as it is with those who are least. Essentially there are three myths we have taught--one is that success, skill, and attractiveness bring friendship rather than the skills of understanding, helping, and cooperating. Secondly, we have failed to get children to understand others--their problems, their concerns and their worries and fears so that they often feel that they are either the only ones with such reactions or some of the few. Thirdly, we have overstressed the competitive aspect of friendship so that the number of friends one has takes on undue importance. We have again set high minimal goals--real friends help you, do things for you, are interested in you but presumably expect little in return. Everyone should have lots of real friends. Having set these goals we than teach methods of reaching these goals which are themselves unrealistic and unlikely to lead to gratification. Here again is an area which psychologists have neglected. Clinical psychologists have become so involved in problems of psychopathology and familial antecedents to psychopathology that they have failed to recognize and investigate what is probably an area of equal importance--that of the satisfactions obtained through peers. Low freedom of movement in the area of social acceptance and friendship, loneliness and the fear of social rejection are surely an important aspect of the antecedents of grosser psychopathology. What are the characteristics of satisfying friendships? How and when should the skills of developing satisfying friendship be taught? Some work along these lines has been done. Daniel Miller has studied the personality characteristics of successful and unsuccessful pairs of college roommates. His work has some applicability here but it is quite clear that we have done relatively little to investigate an area which must certainly be an important aspect of community mental health.

Finally, I would like to mention briefly a fourth area--that of morality and ethics. No society can function without rules which are developed for the protection and enhancement of its members. It is doubtful that an efficient process of maintaining such rules can depend entirely on police-type activities and public punishments. Consequently, all societies attempt to build into their child rearing procedures, techniques for inducing a code of morality which the individual accepts and uses to police himself. In most societies the technique of doing this is through the rewards and punishments meted out by parents during childhood, and through religious doctrines, some of which emphasize both reward and punishment, some only one. Usually the rewards and punishments emphasized in religion are based on a belief in supernatural phenomena which we are careful to extinguish (if we should have ever succeeded in implanting it) in our schools and in our interpretation of everyday affairs. What I believe has happened is that our parents are either teaching a morality which they do not practice or not teaching it at all and, religion is failing to take over the job of implanting morality because it is basing its teaching on beliefs in the supernatural which simply are being increasingly dismissed or are only weakly held. I am aware that church attendance is still extremely high in this country, but, at the same time, I believe that the rewards and punishments of moral behavior as taught by religion do not, in fact, exercise much control over behavior. It is hard to believe otherwise when we have ministers of our most popular religions on one hand teaching the ten commandments, and on the other hand, praying for the success of military missions. In some cases where success in implanting strong and often unrealistic moral beliefs has been achieved, (or high minimal goals have been set) the long-term result is often guilt and sometimes psychopathology. In many cases the disillusionment that comes from discovering that the preached ethics and morality are grossly different from practiced ones leads to a kind of retreat from all internal codes in which the only morality becomes that associated with fear of external punishment or social rejection. For example, the recent concern with the "Genovese Syndrome".....the desire not to get involved in the trouble of others.... suggests an absence of internal demands to help those in distress unless forced to by social pressure. What are the real ethics of our society--the practiced ones? How are ethical beliefs best taught so that they act as internal restraints and require increasingly less rather than increasingly more of a social police? What in fact are the necessary moral codes for a particular culture? Do we need a new ten (or less) commandments which can be supported by reason and are relevant to contemporary society? While again these are areas of great difficulty for experimental research, they are areas where factual information alone would be of considerable help toward the development of a healthy community. The antecedents and generality of such variables as trust, social responsibility, altruism, lying, cheating, etc., are all topics about which we know far too little.

There are, of course, many additional areas of culture conflict which are related to the mental health of a community. I am aware that I have been touching only superficially on extremely complex problems. My goal is primarily to emphasize that we need to look deeply into the nature of our society if we are going to deal seriously with the problem of prevention of mental illness and of promoting mental health on a broad scale. To do this, the psychologist perhaps needs to emphasize the other social sciences more in his training. While, for many the things I have been talking about have been pushed aside as problems for the sociologist or the cultural anthropologist, I do not feel that that should be the case. The psychologist can bring his knowledge of personality adjustment and his research techniques to this area and with them he can make a significant contribution. To set culture change as a goal seems indeed frightening for a psychologist who has learned enough not to be sure of himself and to be hesitant about making global, and possibly oversimplified pronouncements. But social institutions have changed before as a result of the writings of psychologists and other social scientists. Our problem now is both to bring our theories and analytic abilities to bear on problems which we have neglected and to begin the process of collecting the data on which we, and the society, can ultimately base decisions which will lead to a truly preventive mental health program.

OVERVIEW OF STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES IN GEORGIA'S AREA VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

by

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Today's urgent need for highly trained skilled workers and the growing number of individuals who need vocational training in order to enter the world of work places a strong challenge at the door of vocational education. This challenge is being met, in part, by the development of area vocational-technical schools whose major purpose is to offer training for occupational preparation.

A program of student personnel services will play an integral part in the individuals and to society if modern, well-equipped facilities are used to train individuals who have neither the commitment or abilities to pursue successfully a given occupational field. An organized program of student personnel services can do much to bridge the gap between the potential worker and employment.

Since 1957, Georgia has developed an extensive network of area schools. As a part of the area school program, an organized and planned program of student personnel services has been developed around the objective and characteristics of these schools and around the needs of area school students. In developing this program of student personnel services, the administration of the state's program involved local area school officials in arriving at answers to the following questions: (1) What is meant by "student personnel services"? (2) Why are student personnel services needed in area schools? (3) What are the goals of student personnel services? (4) What are the operating principles on which student personnel services are based? (5) What approaches are used to achieve the goals of student personnel services? (6) What specific student personnel services are needed to accomplish the goals of this program?

Before considering answers to these questions, the following points should be clarified. First, answers presented to these questions are based on the result of a two-year developmental project which has been conducted in Georgia. The major purpose of this project has been to develop and implement a systematic and comprehensive program of student personnel services for Georgia Area Vocational-Technical Schools. The project consisted of two phases.

In Phase I, area school administrators, instructors, student personnel specialists and students responded to a questionnaire which was an attempt to determine student personnel services needed in the area schools. Phase II consisted of mobilizing the resources from local, state, and national levels in developing and implementing a program of student personnel services for area schools. Over 50 days were spent in work conferences and the services of over 20 different consultants from throughout the nation were utilized to develop the rationale, objectives, techniques, and procedures for performing specific student personnel services for area schools. An organized statewide plan was followed in implementing student personnel services in area schools. It is believed that the approach used in this project has ensured, to a great extent, that the student services which were developed were based on the needs of students in these schools.

Second, this paper does not claim to present any innovations. Old ideas have been synthesized and, where appropriate, adapted. These services were, however, built around the objectives and problems existing in vocational-technical schools. They are not merely replicas of programs developed in other kinds of educational institutions.

Third, the term "student personnel services" is used rather than "guidance" for student personnel services is a program which has been developed with activities much broader than those normally assigned to a high school counselor. Whereas high school guidance is generally conceived as encompassing the areas of (1) analysis of the individual, (2) information, (3) counseling, (4) placement, and (5) follow-up (Erickson and Smith, 1947; Hatch and Stefflre, 1958), student personnel services discussed in this report include preadmissions information, admissions, student record keeping, counseling information, job placement, and evaluation. These services were developed because area school officials and students (Bottoms, 1966) indicated that they were the ones in greatest need of development in emerging area schools. The organization of student personnel programs into these seven services may or may not have merit for states other than Georgia, and future conditions in Georgia may indicate a need to alter the organizations of student personnel services in that state's area schools.

Student Personnel Services

A program of student personnel services in area schools includes the process of assisting students in making those decisions needed to successfully enter the world of work. The objectives of this program are accomplished by providing opportunities and assistance to the student at choice points. (1) To perceive realistically his own potentialities, values, and interests. (2) To understand those educational and occupational opportunities available to him during and after program completion and (3), to assimilate this information into a plan of action; and to assist the student in implementing the decision made.

One of the purposes of education is to aid individuals in learning to make decisions for themselves. Alton Salter of Georgia's Thomas Area Technical School reported that

> In Georgia's area schools, student personnel activities are based on the premise that the student has decisions that he must make in the planning and pursuit of his destiny. The student personnel worker functions to render assistance to students in clarification of assets, the range of choices, and availability of opportunities

whereby realistic decisions may be made from the students point of view--within certain limits.

Not only must an area school student learn to make education-occupation decisions for himself, but also he must learn to accept responsibility for those decisions and for following through with actions related to his choices. A student must learn to use the best information available in order to make his soundest educational occupation decisions. The student personnel services specialist is a service worker to both teachers and students by aiding the student in accomplishing his purposes. He provides the student with the best information available and assists the student in making an education decision that seems best for him and his purposes. The student personnel specialist, in that sense, "teaches" the student the value of sound decisions and the processes by which they are made, with the student at all times being the one to actually make the decision. If we really believe that all people have worth, then it is a "must" that each student receive such assistance as needed in making key decisions regarding his education-vocation choices.

Need for Student Personnel Services

The needs for student services in area schools can be grouped into three categories. The first of these categories includes the technological, economic, and social changes which have brought about the development of area schools. These schools developed as a result of population shifts from rural to urban areas, from agricultural to industrial settings, and technological advancement. These conditions created a new occupational structure within many sections of their country, which required a higher level of training for entrance into many skilled occupations. The expansion of the number and variety of technical and skilled jobs made it essential for vocational educators to accept the responsibility of providing educational and occupational training which will prepare numbers of individuals for entry into a variety of job areas. In addition, adequate vocational training cannot always be offered in many of America's high schools because of this size. These and many other reasons gave use to the need for developing a statewide system of area schools for the purpose of offering job training to individuals as they prepare to enter the job world.

The second need for student personnel services in area schools stems from the needs of individuals in today's technological society. A survey (Bottoms, 1965) conducted of area school students and school officials revealed a need for assisting individuals in considering and making decisions regarding the area school. Today there exists a host of opportunities for students to consider as he makes decisions regarding his vocation. Prospective area school students do not consider attending an area school for some of the following reasons: (1) lack of accurate and quality information regarding the area school; (2) lack of knowledge concerning the type of students who can best profit from attendance at an area school; (3) lack of money, transportation, housing on the part of prospective students; (4) America's occupational prestige structure which places less prestige on occupations for which area schools offer training; (5) the negative stereotype which many individuals in America's society hold toward vocational schools; and (6) an individual's lack of desire or aspiration to continue his education in an area school. The complexity of America's society, coupled with both the broad range of opportunities available and the general isolation of youth from the world of work support the need for assisting students in making the transition from high school to the area school.

The third category of student personnel services is related to the desire to utilize the area school for the benefit of the maximum number of students. Such utilization cannot be accomplished without a strong program of student personnel services which helps to insure that the costly equipment and the highly trained personnel of area schools are used by students who are suited both in ability and desire for the training. Enrolling students who are either unable or unwilling to remain in school until they complete their training may deny this opportunity to persons who are better able to benefit from it. Some students, in order to remain enrolled in area schools, need assistance in identifying with an area school and a particular occupational area, in gaining a commitment to the occupational area, and in developing appropriate attitudes and skills for working with other people. Student personnel specialists contribute much to the area school program by helping such a student to achieve a commitment through verbalizing his reasons for wanting to attend the area school and his reactions to others.

Goals of Student Personnel Services

The primary goal of an area school in developing a student personnel services program is to assist a student in making those education-occupation decisions needed to successfully move into and out of the area schools and to make progress while so enrolled. Student personnel services in area schools must assist a student in his decisions to accomplish subordinate goals in order to reach this larger goal. The lists shown in Table I represent subordinate goals of student personnel services in area schools at designated intervals of the student's growth. These are expressed in terms of desired goals toward which the student personnel specialist strives can be divided into three phases. In the first phase, the student personnel specialist is concerned with assisting the student in examining the area school as a suitable avenue in reaching his goal and in assisting the student in choosing an occupational curriculum most suited to his abilities, desires, values, and interests. In the second phase, the student personnel specialist assists an enrolled student in progressing within the school setting; and in the third phase, the student personnel specialist assists a student in planning and implementing his post-school plans.

TABLE I

GOALS OF STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES IN AREA VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

BEFORE ENROLLMENT	DURING ENROLLMENT	LEAVING SCHOOL AND ENTERING EMPLOYMENT
1. He accepts vocational-technical concept.	1. He understands school policies as applicable for himself.	1. He accepts responsibility for making plans for the transition from school to employment.
2. He perceives a vocational-technical specialty as valuable to him.	2. He develops positive attitudes toward himself, school, program, prospective employer, and vocational-technical training.	2. He identifies with the world of work in the specialty for which trained.
3. He explores problems which may be obstacles to enrolling but which he plans to solve. a. Financial b. Transportation c. Program d. Housing e. Physical	3. He develops good interpersonal relationships with fellow students, instructors, and outside public.	3. He enters appropriate post school occupation--who he is and what he has to offer.
4. He relates his experiences and aptitudes to the vocational-technical curriculum.	4. When information is needed in order to further clarify his vocational direction, he judges his present knowledge, defines gaps in it, finds sources, selects information he sees as pertinent, and incorporates the new knowledge.	
5. He relates himself to a specific course.		
6. He selects a specific program and completes the admissions process of making application, taking entrance tests, having interviews, making a deposit, and registering for classes.		

Operating Principles Upon Which Student Personnel Services Are Based

These principles which follow are interrelated and not discrete:

1. The student services function in area schools is predicated upon a commitment to students. While the personnel specialist also has definite commitments to the school and to society in a program of student services, the area school student comes first. Since the school serves both society and the student, many vocational educators fall into the trap of seeing the major question for the area school as being "How can we better serve the needs of business and industry?" However, this question should be of secondary importance, with the major one being "How can we better serve our individual students?" It is the role of the student personnel specialist to insure that the interests of the students are not made subsidiary to the interests of society.

2. Student personnel specialists are the prime advocates of treating the individual student as a worthwhile person. There are many students who enroll in area schools, feeling that college bound students are "better" than they themselves. Student personnel specialists assist the area school student in seeing himself in a positive way--as one who can take responsibility for himself, for his education choices, for his occupation choices, and for attending an area school, not as a last resort, but in an effort to get the best possible education for himself.

3. Student personnel work is based on the principle of involving the area school student in planning for his future as well as for his present. Student personnel specialists believe that the area school student who has knowledge of the society's occupational structure, who has assistance in clarifying his own values, interests, and potentialities, and who has assistance in relating information about himself and the world of work is better prepared to make an educational-occupational choice than if he had no assistance from the student

personnel specialist in making his plans.

4. The student personnel specialist is concerned with assisting the area school student not only in acquiring a mechanical skill but also in developing a pattern of attitudes and concepts needed for entry into and adjustment in a world of work. Often vocational educators place emphasis on the development of a mechanical skill at the expense of development of effective job attitudes and concepts which are important to the student's future life success. The personnel specialist strives to maintain a balance between the tangible and the intangible aspect of the area school program. He works with the instructional staff to insure that adequate experiences are provided for students to develop effective interpersonal relationships and self confidence.

5. The student personnel specialist provides accurate, quality, and specific information to enrolled and to its potential area school student concerning himself and the job structure. If persons have worth, then communicating opportunities for increased self-reliance and self-direction is imperative. The personnel specialist would be failing both society and the individual if he did not attempt to arouse interest among those who can profit from the training offered in the vocational-technical school. Information provided by the student personnel specialist for the area school student should be as accurate and as applicable to the local setting as is possible. Further, this information should be specific enough for the individual to identify specific steps or actions he must take. The quality of materials provided should be such that an accurate image of the subject, rather than a stereotype, is projected.

6. The student personnel specialist establishes a constructive working relationship with those in and out of the area school who can assist him in achieving the goals of the student personnel services program. Many of the goals toward which the student personnel services program is striving cannot

be reached unless specific activities and experiences are built into the school curriculum. Thus, student personnel specialists establish a close working relationship with teachers and others who influence a student's behavior. Instructional staff cooperation is important because the student personnel services program will not be successful without it. The student personnel specialist tries to make sure that the school expresses an attitude of care for the individual.

7. Student personnel work is based upon the individual differences of the area school student. The student personnel specialist carries out this operating principle when he assists each student in selecting a vocational-technical program most appropriate for him or when he assists each student in planning and implementing his next step. The student personnel specialist further recognizes individual differences when he encourages development of new vocational educational programs to provide more appropriate experiences for the student whose needs are not being met by the current program.

Approaches Used to Accomplish the Goals of Student Personnel Services

Student personnel specialists help the area school student in two basic ways: through direct help to him and through influencing the environment in which he lives, works, and studies.

Although the student personnel specialist uses a wide variety of direct methods with the area school student to assist him in achieving his goal, his major method is the one-to-one counseling relationship between the area school student and himself. Counseling is the process of assisting a student to focus what he has learned upon decisions he must face. Counseling has two primary goals: first, that the student will resolve his immediate concerns by making some decisions he is willing to act upon; and second, that the student will make progress in learning how to use the process of decision-making effectively, flexibly, and independently so that he can satisfactorily direct his own life.

The direct contact of the student personnel specialist with area school students or potential students include providing information individually or in groups. The purpose is to assist the individual in discovering for himself the decisions he must make and to discover the many alternative choices available for him to act on, with the process used in such activities being based on active student involvement. The use of this process is based on the assumption that when students are involved in the learning process they learn better and are more likely to seek further information and become more concerned about decisions they must make. Group guidance activities are used by personnel specialists to interpret test scores, to develop skills which students use in getting a job, and to orient prospective students to the operation and the activities of the area school.

The amount of time which the student personnel specialist spends carrying out activities with the student and with potential students will be extremely limited when compared with the amount of time which the individual will be spending with his instructors, with his peer group, with his parents, and with others in his environment. It will be difficult for the student personnel specialist to fulfill the goals of the student services program without utilizing indirect methods for reaching these goals. The ability of the individual to become aware of those decisions he must make, of avenues available, of his interests and abilities, and to intergrate this information into a decision and a plan of action will, in a large part, depend upon the attitudes and experiences he is exposed to in his environment.

Further, the student personnel specialist's relationship and influence with many individuals and groups can provide him with opportunities to fulfill the goals of the student services program. For example, the work of the student personnel specialist with high school counselors, principals, and teachers with public news media has much to do with whether or not potential students seriously consider the area school as an educational choice. In addition, the student personnel specialist's relationship with the other area school administrative staff members can do much to establish an atmosphere within which he can work to achieve the goals of the student personnel services program. The student personnel specialist's influence with groups both within and outside the schools will determine whether the climate is appropriate to fulfill the goals of student personnel services. Nor should the area school student personnel specialist overlook the influence of the peer group in accomplishing goals of student personnel services for it is this group which has a significant influence upon students in area schools.

The student personnel specialist must make use of printed materials which he prepares himself. Such materials include catalogs, brochures, and other types of printed materials already available. Some indirect methods of carrying out the goals of the student personnel services program are as follows:

1. Creating and distributing printed materials to prospective students and high school counselors.
    a. Catalogue;
    b. Brochures;
    c. Applications;
    d. Admission procedures;
    e. News releases;
    f. Records;
    g. Test interpretation sheets;
    h. Form letters;
    i. Newsletter to high school counselors.

2. Working with instructors:
    a. Admissions Committee;
    b. Preadmissions Committee;
    c. Guidance Committee;
    d. Techdays Committee;
    e. Attendance Conference;
3. Working with Director:
    a. Weekly staff meeting;
    b. Enrollment reports;
4. Working with groups of high school counselors:
    a. Presentation of slides;
    b. Tours of area school;
    c. Scheduling of students;
5. Working with other student personnel workers:
    a. Coordination of total program of student personnel
6. Working with instructional supervisor:
    a. Curriculum revisions
7. Working with parents
8. Carrying out research

Thus, through direct and indirect methods, student personnel specialists can assist area school students in bridging the gap between education for a job and entry into that job.

Services Used in Accomplishing the Goals of Student Personnel Programs

Preadmission Information

Many conditions and trends in our society make it imperative for area schools to perform a Preadmissions Information Service. Technological advancement and automation have been contributing factors to America's shifting occupational structure. In addition, a broad range of occupational opportunities is available, but the isolation of many young people from the world of work prevents them from understanding these opportunities. Stereotyped attitudes toward vocational education held by some counselors, teachers, parents, and others also prevent many students from considering area schools.

To overcome these conditions, the area school student personnel specialist has the responsibility to inform the general public of the changes taking place and of the opportunities for quality training being offered today through area schools. This requires an aggressive, positive, and objective preadmission information service in order to inform potential students and those who have a direct influence on their decision making. Such a service should not be characterized by undue pressure, a concept of enlistment, or misinformation. Instead, it should be based on the sound guidance principles of providing factual information as to the opportunities available through the area school so that the area school student might have a better understanding of the opportunities available to him and might be better able to select realistic and satisfying goals.

In Georgia, attempts have been made to implement the Preadmissions Service by having the area school student personnel specialist become a resourse consultant to surrounding high school counselors. He becomes this resource person by providing information and by planning experiences for individuals which will broaden their concepts of the education-occupation opportunities available to them through such activities as (1) improving the quality of materials provided to high school counselors and prospective students covering the area school program; (2) arranging organized visits for students, parents, school officials, and other interested groups for touring the area school; (3) speaking to students and adult groups about area school; (4) arranging for resource people such as employers and successful area school graduates of vocational programs to speak to prospective area school students. Other media and activities are also used for orienting adults to opportunities available to them in the area schools.

Admissions

The success of an area school program in part is dependent upon the enrollment of students who are suited by desire and ability for programs offered. An organized Admissions Service in the area school should not, however, be justified on the basis of "selecting the best and forgetting the rest."

The present selection strategy used by many institutions is not suitable for the area schools because of the broad range of students in abilities, age, education, and social background served by these schools. Neither the "selection" strategy, the "placement from the area school's point of view" strategy, nor the "open door policy" offer a suitable admissions strategy for area schools. An acceptable admissions strategy for area schools is one which assists each applicant in evaluating his abilities, values, and desires in terms of the courses offered in area schools, and is one which further assists the applicant in making choices "within certain limits within the school" or outside the school. The limits within which the area school applicant is free to choose may depend upon limitations in area school facilities, course offerings, student abilities, and educational background. The area school student personnel specialist can function as a counselor during the admissions process by defining limits within which the applicant can choose his program and then proceed to assist him in making a choice either within or outside the area school. The limits defined for the applicant are broad because of low reliability of admission criteria for area schools and the flexible scheduling which enable a student to transfer to another occupational area if he perceives his original choice as an inappropriate one.

Attemps are being made in Georgia to implement the admissions strategy through an organized procedure which provides for (1) clear-cut admissions policies regarding requirements and procedures for entrance into area schools; (2) a systematic procedure for responding to the applicant at each step in the admissions process; (3) establishment of early testing dates for applicants to appear at the vocational-technical school to take the area school entrance test; (4) arrangement of a meeting for interpreting test scores to the area school applicant, either individually or as a part of a group, for the purpose of assisting applicants in making a choice of curriculum to pursue; (5) assisting the area school applicant who fails to qualify for his choice of course to examine possible alternatives either in the area school or outside the area school.

Student Records

A well developed system of keeping student records should increase the area school staff's ability to assist the student in learning a skill as it relates to an occupation in achieving self-understanding and in developing a strong and positive self-concept. A statewide system of area school record-keeping has been developed in Georgia. This system includes student application forms, student status cards, permanent record cards, student history questionnaires, instructor's observation forms and grade reports. These forms have been developed specifically for Georgia's area schools and contribute significantly to the abilities of area school personnel to train skilled personnel.

Counseling

Many vocational educators have been strong supporters of offering counseling services to students prior to their enrolling in the area school. Other vocational educators have requested that counseling services not terminate with the area school student's enrollment. They base their request on the following factors with which an area school student needs assistance: (1) selecting an alternate vocational course because of mistaken estimates of ability and interest; (2) developing a positive self-concept; (3) evaluating his present home and school environment in relation to future fob and life plans; (4) making a more realistic choice of an occupational field or an increased commitment to a given field; (5) making future plans for job entry, and (6) accepting responsibility for following through with these plans.

In Georgia, several steps have been taken to insure that effective and high quality counseling services are available to area school students. First, the ratio of student personnel specialists to area school students is maintained at one to four hundred full-time students or equivalent. Second, a statewide, in-service program has been conducted, and others are planned for the future, for the purpose of making area school instructors aware of educational-occupational decisions which students must make. A further purpose of this program is to acquaint instructors with ways in which they can work with student personnel specialists to broaden students' perception of decisions they may need to make. Third, counseling service is being concentrated on the following major decisions facing the area school student: (1) decisions regarding attendance at the area school; (2) decisions regarding the choice of which occupation to enter; (3) decisions concerning course completion; (4) decisions concerning job plans after course completion. Fourth, data is collected annually to help determine the effectiveness counseling services provided.

Information

There are several reasons why it is essential for area schools to provide an organized and systematic Information Service for the enrolled student. One of the most significant reasons is to assist in motivating the area school student. Educators and public media representatives often attempt to motivate their students through pressure tactics. The student can be encouraged to make education-occupation decisions by direct involvement in meaningful experiences or through contact with peer groups whose members have already recognized this need and by having prospective employers tell them what qualifications are needed for entrance into certain positions. Second, the characteristics of the student enrolled in Georgia's area schools imply that an organized Information Service would enable the student to become aware of his needs and to encourage him to take constructive action to meet those needs. For example, when surveyed in 1966, 90 percent of the students in Georgia's area schools were under 21 years of age; most lacked work experience, 66 percent were single; and most male students had not met military obligations. These facts indicated that the area school student had several important decisions to make.

The Information Service first makes contact with the student through an orientation program which can assist him in understanding the school's purposes, objectives, policies, and to develop positive attitudes as he relates himself to the area school program. An orientation program provides an opportunity for mutual understanding to develop between the area school staff and the new student.

The entire Information Service, including orientation, is a cooperative program in which both the counselor and the instructional staff have designated responsibilities. In an area school Information Service, instructors accept the major responsibility for carrying out the service, while student personnel specialists provides resources and consultative assistance. The Information Service program is grouped into three areas: occupational; educational; and personal-social. First, under each of the three areas of occupational, educational, and personal-social, major topics were identified. Second, under each major topic the expected behavior which the student should acquire was identified. Third, activities through which the student might acquire these desired behaviors were listed. Furthermore, comprehensive units have been prepared on each of the topics to be used by the instructor. During the 1967-68 school year, a first attempt is being made in Georgia to implement this program through the instructor in the area schools.

The plan which is being followed is that of asking each instructor to allot one hour per week to the teaching of personal job skills or attitudes. One topic is suggested for covering each week. Instructors are also requested to reinforce the material through their regular class session. For example, if an instructor teaches the student how to take notes he can then ask the student to practice the note-taking techniques during his lectures.

Job Placement

A Job Placement Service is essential if the area school is to provide the student with those personal skills and attitudes needed to enter into, and adjust to the world of work.

The basic question in the Job Placement Service is not "Did the area school graduate get a job?" Such a question suggests that the purpose of job placement goes no further than helping the student find a job. It fails to comprehend both the personal depth and the long range purpose involved. The basic question is, "Did the student develop a model or pattern of skills, attitudes, and understandings that will be effective in locating the right job and in successfully adjusting to the world of work?" This question suggests that the Job Placement Service should assist the student in the clarification of his goals, in becoming aware of labor market as related to his field, in evaluating his qualifications and desires in terms of a specific job, in developing skills and knowledge in locating a job, and in adjusting to the fluctuating economy. All of this assistance is based on the assumption that graduates who have made a careful study of themselves and the labor market will have a more realistic expectation of the world of work.

The first aim of the Job Placement program is to provide each area school student with those experiences that will enable him to develop a pattern of skills, attitudes, understandings, and job knowledge needed to enter into, and adjust to, the world of work. Through orientation, counseling, and information services, the area school student is assisted in developing this pattern of skills, with the initial step toward fulfillment of this aim beginning with the student's entrance into an area school. Such a program also involves cooperation between area school instructors and the student personnel specialist. In fulfilling this aim, the specific roles and functions of both the counselor and the instructor have been designated, the area school student will be assisted in developing certain skills and understandings. Scheduled counseling sessions with each student regarding his post-graduation plans elicit answers to such questions as "What are your plans?" and "How do you know you can complete them?" These questions help the student to analyze his own decision.

The second aim of a Job Placement program is to provide those activities which will enable the area school graduate to get a well paying job soon after course completion. To accomplish this, the student personnel specialist maintains files of job requests received from employers and takes steps to bring employers into the school. In Georgia, for example, a program to assist students in meeting employers and in making transitions from school to work is called "Techdays." It is coordinated statewide and in 1967 resulted in approximately 500 employers interviewing area school students.

Evaluation

A follow-up program of area school students is essential if data are to be obtained to enable schools to evaluate and improve programs. A follow-up has been designed in Georgia to provide data which will assist student personnel specialists to evaluate their services and to determine which services need strengthening. The data may also help administrators to determine instructional and curricular needs of the total school program. Furthermore, follow-up data provide occupational information to potential area school students.

Follow-up studies are conducted a few months following graduation and again in five years. The data which are collected are analyzed at local and state levels. The follow-up is a part of a continuous evaluation program. The other parts of the Evaluation Service include a survey of student characteristics and enrollment reports. Through these reports, data are collected annually to determine attitudes, characteristics, and values of students enrolled in the area school program. These data should provide information which will enable the local counselor to evaluate his program and should also give direction to local and state level officials in program planning.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, seven student personnel services have been defined. In performing these seven services, 12 functions have been assigned to the area student personnel specialist. In three of these functions, there are joint, or shared, responsibilities between the student personnel specialist and the area school staff. These are: (1) an organized orientation program; (2) collection and interpretation of information to help students know more about themselves and about the world of work; and (3) activities developed to assist area school students in moving from the area school to employment.

The term "supervise" precedes four of the functions in order to indicate that the student specialist, in most cases, would supervise the clerical personnel in performing these functions and evaluating these programs. These functions are: (1) an organized and systematic admissions program; (2) a student personnel record keeping system; (3) periodic follow-up studies of all students and of selected employers; and (4) financial aid.

There are five remaining functions which are performed primarily by the area school student personnel specialists. The guidelines for performing these functions however, are established with the total school staff. These functions are: (1) conducting an organized and systematic procedure for informing prospective students about area schools; (2) assisting students in choosing their most appropriate program of study; (3) assisting students in solving problems such as housing, finances, and health; (4) assisting students in making the greatest use of their potential; and (5) administering and interpreting test scores to all prospective students.

In summary, an effective program of student personnel services in area schools should become the instrument, or means, through which emphasis is maintained on the needs of the individual as he progresses from a potential worker to an employed and skilled worker.

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